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Approximate area in square miles	454
Population density per square mile	1139
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Nuttonson, op. cit., p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation.

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If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land.

5

Conclusion

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Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote,

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

8 Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 480 [138] [161] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 191 240 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shisoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

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Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasized later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected.

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips.

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain.

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this

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combined with the destructiveness of typhoons, make for an unproductive life in terms of rewards for work done. To these, there is now being added a fourth realisation, that there are too many people in Okinawa. Greater mobility has increased this awareness.[8]

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8 These remarks, too, are based on impressions. Neither would I claim that they represent a majority opinion. Polls with samples competently chosen could only determine these attitudes. But complaints about the poorness of the land are proverbial among Okinawans. So are the discouragements coming from the typhoons.

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One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara.

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes.

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jugoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season.

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y200. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Katsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot.

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials.

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or washes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table.

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on

Alcoholic Beverages

493 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village [366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

493 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by
494 bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
[857] an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. [267] These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods, bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

493 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

494 Import stores (hyakuhō), also operated privately, are a different
262 kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under
511 the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village retailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its [942] age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

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needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one.

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Gushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow.

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people.

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut.

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yūrei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), ninmo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

436 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese
175 did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency.
434 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-
511 sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year.

[574] Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot
[388] be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost.
[262] (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can-
[209] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and
[872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines
[651] and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or tile. (15) Taxes.

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from
[51] sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

42 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that
8 of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertiliser, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expediti , to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

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necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village. 434 511 184 [437]

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan. 433 [439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato. 433 435

One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed. 423 311

Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilising influence on these village economies. 423 428

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1

The Daily Diet

262 There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic [511] status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are: 262 264 272

For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea.

For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

262 The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Hinatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In [184] Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in [511] the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative [252] of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre.

262 There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the 252 following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season.

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593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

562 197 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

515 511 951 The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

511 364 951 The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

164 blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water. Okinawans
753 Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and
515 families.

515 The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
511 but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap, showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

757 The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu)
759 in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Hinatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased
913 in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterisation using moguса (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning moguса on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Moguса is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was
386 pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

769 finished the restless children already had become noisy. The ceremony
793 completed, the priest exchanged a few courtesies, explained the sig-
788 nificance of the chant to the father, received a gratuity and left shortly after. The women and the children soon retired, and the men were served saké, but the party was more subdued than the usual social affair.

769 These ceremonies in memory of the dead are the responsibility of
•511 the head of the house. These, and not the family tombs, are the real financial burdens. Since the war, village and township governments, and community organizations have tried to persuade the people to spend less on these and to spread what good food they have more evenly throughout the year.

829 They have tried to standardise gifts at marriage, on birthdays,
511 and at deaths, and to cut down the cost of food by simplifying the banquets. In this they have been at least partly successful because everyone recognizes the difficulties. Villagers do not like to spend all their resources on celebrations, and yet, there is an obligation which cannot be avoided. Two sensible adjustments have been made. Economies have been effected in the food served, and, whenever possible, celebrations or holidays that come close together are combined. The 7 year memorial service, described above, was combined by the family with the festival of the autumnal equinox (higan).

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character.

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin.

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2]

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. jour. 5 (1895), 298.

512 513 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six and a half hours.

Chapter 8

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 433 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 [243] [244] Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow, the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 423 241 The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely subsist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 14 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra rice; and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes.

[433] [511] [433]

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[For information on health and sanitation, see also Category 751.]

[Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs. 621 829 727

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however, 621 735 511 [342] [312] [342]

511 [Kitazato]

621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 54 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
[123] Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system.

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living.

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural.

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan belief, contains two entities, the mabui (or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii (pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished.

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui,("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger.

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

349 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance 621 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a perma- 464 nent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business 829 or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employ- [511] ment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above sub- sistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- [462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.